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ABSTRACT

Possible changes in the involvement of women in psychology in recent years were investigated. The number and distribution of women in psychology was considered, and their participatory activities in the American Psychological Association (APA) were examined. Employment and salaries were investigated, as were the barriers to obtaining a doctoral degree. The results show that the situation for women in psychology may be in a period of transition. There are greater numbers of women in graduate school, more recent female Ph.D.'s, and in both cases, a higher percentage of women than in the past. Affirmative action and the availability of employment has served to block obvious discrimination in new hiring. More women are involved in the governance of the APA. However, the data still indicate that the longer women are employed the greater is their disadvantage. Many recently hired women have not received tenure. It is concluded that attempts to reduce existing discrimination, especially in academe, must be continued. (Author/MSE)

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WOMEN IN PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

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Studies on women in psychology date as far back as 1947 when Bryan and Boring[1] found positive discrimination against women. As you might expect, women were paid less, were promoted rarely -- if ever, were less likely to be employed full time, were practitioners rather than researchers/teachers, and came from higher SES backgrounds. Have times changed? The answer to this question is what this paper is about. We will first consider the number and distribution of women in psychology, then examine their participatory activities in the American Psychological Association (APA), followed by their employment and salary, and conclude with barriers faced by women in obtaining a doctorate degree.

NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION

It is practically impossible to determine how many psychologists there are today. The 1977 Directory of the American Psychological Association (APA) (which includes Canadian psychologists) lists 44,650 members and associates.[2]

Of that number, 11,929, or 26% are female, as shown in Table 1.

Insert table 1 about here

Of course, many American (and Canadian) psychologists are not members of

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APA. A best guess is that there are twice as many American and Canadian psychologists than are listed in the APA Directory. This "guess" was arrived at by examining a survey of recent doctoral graduates from 1972 to 1976 from 132 Ph.D. programs in the United States.[3] The survey indicated that 52.2% of the 9,292 recent Ph.D.s did not join APA. Since approximately one-third (rather than one quarter) of these recent Ph.D.s are women, and since 55.5% of the women compared to 49.7% of the men did not join APA, it is possible that more than 26.7% of all psychologists in the United States are female.

In any event, the total number of psychologists has increased significantly, and the number of women in psychology has also increased significantly. However, as of 1978, existing and available records indicate that the percentage of female psychologists has hardly changed over the last 25 years.

An important source for obtaining this data was from Ms. Jane Hildreth of the Membership Office of APA. She reported that 25% of the 8,554 APA members were female in 1951, even though no gender breakdown was officially kept. In 1951, women APA members were asked to list their husbands' names in the Directory along with their own. Fortunately, this practice was discontinued shortly thereafter. Similar data were reported for 1968, although membership in APA had increased to 27,250. The total percentage of female psychologists does not tell the full story. Psychologists include both "scientists" and "professionals". Thus, some psychologists carry out research and others serve as mental health professionals, and still others do both. While it is impossible to look at numbers and figure out exactly who belongs in one camp or the other, a look at the

1977 divisional membership is of some help in this regard.[2] Total divisional membership is greater than total APA membership, since even though some APA members do not affiliate with any division, many members belong to more than one division. As shown in Table 2, women tend to be clustered within a relatively few areas, while men are dispersed throughout the discipline. In 1977, 19.7% of the psychologists in Division 12 (Clinical Psychology), and 23.2% of the members of Division 29 (Psychotherapy) were female. Many, if not most of the members of these divisions are at least part-time mental health professionals. In contrast, only 11.5% of the membership of Division 6 (Physiological and Comparative Psychology), and only 12.0% of Division 3 (Experimental Psychology) were women. These divisions are among the more "pure" research oriented ones. A still smaller percentage of women are in Industrial and Organizational Psychology (6.3%), Consumer Psychology (6.9%), Engineering Psychology (4.6%), and Military Psychology (4.1%). These figures may reflect the "business world" where women at higher managerial levels are still few in number.

Insert table 2 about here

Division 7, the Division of Developmental Psychology, provides some interesting figures. Although primarily research oriented, 40.3% of its 1977 membership is female. Women are not only more welcome in the helping areas of psychology, they are also more welcome in and choose to enter areas where the target of inquiry and investigation, namely children in this case, is considered appropriate for females. Similarly, Division 16, School Psychology, has 39.7% females in its membership. Interestingly, Division 35, also referred to later in this paper, a division established

in 1973, entitled and devoted primarily to research in the psychology of women, is 92.5% female. The recognized importance of developing and expanding knowledge in this field and of moving into the public arena by applying this knowledge to society and its institutions was, as the first president of the division wrote, "an idea whose time has come".[4] Many women belong only to this division and report that at last they have found a home in organized psychology.

Areas of psychology which involve extensive and expensive laboratory equipment are less likely to welcome females into their domains. Only universities offering doctoral degrees, rather than colleges, and certain well-funded research laboratories are likely to have such equipment, or are willing to invest in it. Individuals with tenure and higher ranks, or those likely to obtain them (primarily males) will become the recipients. Thus women are frequently deterred from obtaining Ph.D.s in physiological psychology; those who do receive the Ph.D. are often forced to switch fields when the technological support, equipment, and/or space to house such equipment is denied them.

In 1968, there were only 29 divisions, no division on the Psychology of Women, and there was no gender subcount. However, by hand count, 9.6% of the 510 total number of members in Division 6 (Physiological and Comparative) were women, contrasted to 35.9% of the 843 Division 7 (Developmental) membership. By 1977 the number of members and the number of women in these divisions changed, but the relative percentage increase of women in these divisions was insignificant.

PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES IN APA

Women are at last approaching parity in APA convention participation and in governance, relative to their proportion of APA membership. The percentage of women participating in the annual APA convention has increased from 14% in 1946 to 28% in 1977 (See Table 3). The jump from 15.3% in 1970 to 23% in 1974 can in part be explained by the fact that 1974 was the first year Division 35 (The Psychology of Women) was given program hours.

Insert table 3 about here

The percentage of women participating on APA Boards and Committees increased from 9.7% in 1946 to 23.8% in 1976 (See Table 4). Table 4 also indicates that on the APA Council of Representatives women's participation increased from 9% in 1969 to 20.2% in 1977.

Insert table 4 about here

Some of this increase is undoubtedly due to the impact and influence of the APA Committee on Women in Psychology, first established as an ad hoc Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology in January, 1970, and finally regularized in 1972 as a continuing committee reporting to the Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility. The Association for Women in Psychology (AWP) an organization formed in 1969, which operates outside of the APA structure, but includes many APA members, has also had an impact

on promoting both women's issues and women in APA governance. In fact, by demonstrating and attacking unfair employment practices at the 1969 APA Convention, the Association for Women in Psychology was largely responsible for convincing APA's Council of Representatives to create the ad hoc Task Force to examine the status of women in psychology.

The Task Force in its 1973 report[5] documented both overt and subtle forms of discrimination against women in the discipline.

Division 35 (The Psychology of Women) through its three council representatives organized a Women's Caucus of the APA C uncil which works together on many social issues. The Caucus was instrumental in having the Council vote in 1977 not to hold annual conventions in states which have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. As more and hopefully still more women become part of the decision-making body of our organization, they are able to play a legitimate role in influencing the actions taken by this group.

The editorial staff of professional journals also showed gender shifts over the last decade. Many more women were designated as editors or appointed to editorial boards or were asked to serve as editorial consultants. Table 5 indicates changes in editorial staff that occurred during a ten year period from 1965 to 1975 in many traditional APA journals. Thus, for example, the percentage of female editorial staff increased from 1.6% in 1965 to 11.7% in 1975 on the PSYCHOLOGY REVIEW, from 3.7% to 5.7% on the JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE AND PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY, and from 21.4% in 1969 to 50% in 1975 on DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY. Through the efforts of the APA Committee on Women there are now guidelines for non-sexist lang- in APA journals.

Insert table 5 about here

Unfortunately, even in 1978, the vast majority of women psychologists noted above who participate in governance and on editorial staffs are still members of the white majority.

Largely through the efforts of the APA Committee on Women, a Women's Program Office was established by the APA in August of 1977, reflecting the acknowledged importance of devoting specific attention to the needs of women. This office has a dual mission. It is responsible for developing programs to advance the status of women in psychology and also seeks to facilitate the use of psychology and psychologists to advance the public interest of women. Dr. Nancy Felipe Russo currently serves as the Administrative Officer for this office.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1976 a human resources program survey was conducted by APA which was answered by 30,332 respondents including 8,328 women.

Insert table 6 about here

Respondents ranged in age from 20 to over 70 years of age. The data appeared in a report by Sharon Dyer, entitled, "An Overview of the Employment of Psychologists."[6] As seen in Table 6, a much greater percentage of men at all educational levels in psychology were employed full-time than were women (e.g., 91.8% of the doctorates for men compared to 77.1% for women, and 84.8% of the masters level for men compared to 59.7% for women). Conversely, more women were employed part-time than men at all educational levels. For all respondents with more than a baccalaureate degree, a higher percentage of

women were unemployed. For those who reported their field was physiological psychology, all of the 277 men reported full-time employment. Only 16 of the 35 female respondents were employed full-time, four reported part-time employment, and 12 were unemployed. Six of the 554 male developmental psychologists were employed part-time and none were unemployed. In contrast, 40 of the 459 female developmental psychologists had part-time employment and 29 were unemployed. The largest number of both male and female psychologists were in clinical psychology. No gender difference was apparent in amount of unemployment here. However, the general pattern of greater under- and unemployment for females was evident for most sub-fields of psychology. It should be noted that some part-time employment is by choice and some unemployed psychologists are not seeking employment. However, even taking such factors into consideration ,gender differences still occur. Similar gender differences were found in the 1947 study by Bryan and Boring.[1]

Employment settings for psychologists include colleges and universities, other educational settings, human service settings including hospitals and counseling centers, business and industry, federal, state or local independent research organizations, government, the criminal justice system, and the military.

Generally speaking, women spend more time teaching, less time in research and administration, and greater time providing service than do their male counterparts.

In spite of decreasing job opportunities for Ph.D. recipients generally, at least recent doctorates, both female and male, are still finding jobs in psychology. A follow-up survey of recent doctorates (carried out in early 1977 by APA) indicated that only 1.7% of 1976 doctorates were

unemployed at that time.[7] A higher proportion of women than men are getting academic positions, but more men are in administration. In general, decreasing proportions of both men and women are gaining employment in academic settings. Those psychologists with specialities in applied fields seem to be faring better than those more dependent on the academic market. However, despite a generally good employment picture, a higher percentage of these female 1976 Ph.D.s were employed part-time or were unemployed than was true of their male counterparts.

A comparison of distribution of faculty by rank and gender in departments of psychology with APA approved programs was made for four years -- from 1972-73 to 1975-76. As shown in Table 7, in each of these four years the highest concentration of women is at the lower ranks. The higher the rank, the fewer the women even though the highest percentage of all faculty is at the full professor level. The mean percentage for women over all four years at the instructor level is 35%; at the full professor level this figure drops to a mean of 7.5%. The strongest increase in the percentage of women faculty members occurred at the assistant professor level, changing from 16.5% in 1972-73 to 27.19% in 1975-76.

Insert table 7 about here

SALARY

An analysis of the financial experiences of 1975 doctoral recipients in psychology was prepared by Sharon Dyer, Research Associate of APA, in 1977.[8] Statistically significant differences were found for both median

and mean salaries. Thus, for the nine-to-ten month salaries, the mean salary for women was about 94% of the men's mean salary; for the eleven-to-twelve month salaries the mean for women was about 91% as much as men. Similar findings were reported for 1976 doctoral recipients (Table 8).

Insert table 8 about here

At entry level, salary differences while significant are relatively small in practical terms. However, gender differences in salary are more readily apparent when considering all Ph.D. psychologists and not just recent ones. Women are more likely to be concentrated at lower levels of rank, and therefore receive lower salaries. Full-time salaries for women Ph.D.s are lower in every employment setting.

The 1973 Profile of Doctoral Scientists and Engineers distributed by the National Academy of Sciences in 1974, indicated the median salary for full-time employed male psychologists was $20,580, compared to a median of $18,120 for females.[9]

In a recent 1977 report prepared by Nancy Russo, differences between male psychologists and female psychologists were reported to range from a low of about $1,000 in university counseling centers, to $15,500 in medical/psychological group practice settings.[10]

Women who were employed before the recent laws and raised consciousness about equal employment were more likely to be paid lower entering salaries than men, as compared to those women who started their employment more recently. In fact, the longer a woman psychologist has been employed the greater the discrepancy between her salary and that of a man with a similar

employment background.

EXTERNAL BARRIERS TO OBTAINING A DOCTORAL DEGREE

Proportionately more women compared to men have the M.A. degree rather than the Ph.D. For example, 23.9% of the doctoral level health service providers are women compared to 44.6% of the master's level providers. Yet psychology primarily requires a doctoral degree for entry into the profession; one must have a doctoral degree for full membership in APA.

Women tend to be older than men when they receive the Ph.D. The lack of adequate financial support is the main reason for this delay in obtaining the Ph.D. Women (and minority groups) most frequently find barriers in their way when they attempt entry into a doctoral program.

Many of these potential students will be working and thus interested in entering a part-time program. Other women will have the B.A. or M.A. and wish to pursue graduate work after some years of absence from formal education. Part-time education may be all they can afford in terms of time and money. In contrast, many graduate programs have biases against women and/or part-time students. The proportion of women recipients of master's and doctoral degrees declined substantially from 1930 to 1970, despite the proportionate increase of women earning baccalaureate degrees.[11]

Institutional barriers prevent women's entry into graduate study and thus contribute to an enormous waste of talent. Clear evidence of discrimination against women has been found in terms of admission to graduate study and also financial aid.[12]

Yet, studies have shown that most women admitted to graduate

school do obtain their Ph.D., do stay in the field, do publish, do contribute, etc.[12] It is true that the student who runs in and takes one or two courses and then runs home is missing a great deal. She doesn't experience the peer and collegial relationships so necessary to the making of a psychologist. The bull sessions, the colloquia, and just hanging around the department or the clinic are all part of the experiences one should participate in in graduate school. However, this need not be done on a full five day a week schedule. Viable part-time programs in which students make orderly intellectual progress can be worked out on a two or three day basis, or over several half days per week, which incorporate all of the essential features of a full-time program, including immersion in the culture of psychology. Two students on part-time basis can be admitted as the equivalent of one full-time student. Financial aid, hopefully available, can be shared by the two students. Even assistantships and other forms of graduate work-related experiences could be shared. Too often the part-time student loses out in any form of financial assistance simply because she is part time. Barriers such as this must be eliminated.

In summary, the situation for women in psychology may be in a period of transition. There are more women in graduate school, more recent female Ph.D.s, and in both cases, a higher percentage of women relative to the total number of students and graduates than has been true in the past. Affirmative action and the availability of employment has served to block obvious discrimination in new hiring. More women are also involved in the governance of the APA.

However, it should be noted that data still indicate the longer women are employed the greater is their disadvantage vis-a-vis men. Many

recently hired women have not gotten tenure. Attempts to reduce existing discrimination, especially in academia, as well as to monitor the ongoing process must be continued. Psychologists must have a commitment to change women's status in the field.

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Table 1

1977 APA MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

		Fellows	*Members*	*Associates*	*Total*
Men	N	2739	24,697	5285	32,721
	%	85.7	75.3	61.0	73.3
Women	N	456	8100	3373	11,929
	%	14.3	24.7	39.0	26.7
Total	N	3195	32,797	8658	44,650
	%	100	100	100	100

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Table 2

1977 APA DIVISIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Division	*Men*		*Women*		*Total*
	N	%	N	%	N
1. General Psychology	2,171	78.6	591	21.4	2,762
2. Teaching of Psychology	2,022	81.0	474	19.0	2,496
3. Experimental Psychology	1,220	88.0	166	12.0	1,386
5. Evaluation and Measurement	780	85.1	137	14.9	917
6. Physiological and Comparative	531	88.5	69	11.5	600
7. Developmental Psychology	626	59.7	422	40.3	1,048
8. Personality and Social	3,311	78.8	892	21.2	4,203
9. SPSSI	1,705	76.8	514	23.2	2,219
10. Psychology and the Arts	284	73.4	103	26.6	387
12. Clinical Psychology	3,462	80.3	851	19.7	4,313
13. Consulting Psychology	590	85.6	99	14.4	689
14. Industrial and Organizational	1,545	93.7	104	6.3	1,649
15. Educational Psychology	2,593	75.2	854	24.8	3,447
16. School Psychology	1,551	60.3	1,023	39.7	2,574
17. Counseling Psychology	2,060	82.2	446	17.8	2,506
18. Psychologists in Public Service	702	82.4	150	17.6	852
19. Military Psychology	469	95.9	20	4.1	489
20. Adult Development and Aging	419	68.7	191	31.3	610
21. Society of Engineering Psychologists	482	95.4	23	4.6	505
22. Rehabilitation Psychology	695	79.5	179	20.5	874
23. Consumer Psychology	310	93.1	23	6.9	333
24. Philosophical Psychology	443	87.5	63	12.5	506
25. Experimental Analysis of Behavior	1,383	85.8	229	14.2	1,612
26. History of Psychology	418	87.6	59	12.4	477
27. Community Psychology	1,052	82.7	220	17.3	1,272
28. Psychopharmacology	913	86.5	143	13.5	1,056
29. Psychotherapy	2,576	76.8	780	23.2	3,356
30. Psychological Hypnosis	430	91.1	42	8.9	472
31. State Psychological Affairs	740	80.2	183	19.8	923
32. Humanistic Psychology	876	76.2	274	23.8	1,150
33. Mental Retardation	728	72.1	281	27.9	1,009
34. Population and Environmental Psychology	248	72.5	94	27.5	342
35. Psychology of Women	106	7.5	1,301	92.5	1,407
36. PIRI	450	72.7	169	27.3	619
No Divisional Affiliation	12,444	68.9	5,617	31.1	18,061
Total	50,335	75.0	16,786	25.0	67,121

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Table 3

Women's participation
in
Annual Convention Program

Year	Women	Total	Percentage
1946	37	265	14.0
1956	124	1,146	10.8
1966	229	1,648	13.9
1970	345	2,260	15.3
1974	842	3,600	23.0
1975	902	3,750	24.0
1977	1,169	4,143	28.0

Source: **Index of Programs.** Percent of women in APA now 27%.

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Table 4

PARTICIPATION IN THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

	Council of Representatives			Boards and Committees		
Year	Women	Total	Percentage	Women	Total	Percentage
1946				15	155	9.7
1956				31	365	9.5
1966				36	463	7.8
1970	9	135	6	55	526	10.5
1971	7	131	5	42	485	12.2
1972	10	133	8	51	442	14.9
1973	17	106	16	65	450	18.4
1974	20	121	16.4	56	316	17.7
1975	25	122	20.5	85	385	22.1
1976	26	118	22.0	85	357	23.8
1977	24	119	20.2			

NOTE: Data obtained from Report on APA ad hoc committee on Women (1972), Human Resources Office, and APA Monitor. Reprinted with permission.

Table 5

SHIFTS IN EDITORIAL STAFF IN TRADITIONAL JOURNALS

Journal	Year	Total No.	Women	% Women
Psychological Review	1965	124	2	1.6
	1975	162	19	11.7
J. of Comparative Physiological Psychology	1965	27	1	3.7
	1975	35	2	5.7
Psychological Bulletin	1965	23	1	4.3
	1975	224	18	8.
J. of Counseling Psychology	1965	14	2	14.3
	1975	30	5	16.7
J. of Consulting Psychology	1965	34	0	0
J. of Clinical & Consulting Psychology	1975	55	12	21.8
Developmental Psychology	1969	14	3	21.4
	1975	36	18	50.
J. of Personality & Social Psychology	1965	37	1	2.7
	1975	51	4	7.8

Editorial Staff includes Editors, Editorial Boards, Editorial Consultants.

Developmental Psychology was first published in 1969, so shift is over 6 years. Journal of Consulting Psychology changed its name during the ten year interval.

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Table 6

Employment Status by Degree Level and Gender
(Row Percent)

Degree Level	Employment Status: Full-Time	Part-Time	Unemployed & Seeking	Unemployed & Not Seeking	Retired	No Response	Row Total
Men							
No Post Baccalaureate Degree	75.7	3.1	17.8	1.0	0.0	2.4	112
Master	84.8	6.8	2.0	2.6	3.5	0.4	2,783
Doctorate	91.8	3.6	1.1	0.4	2.6	0.6	18,438
Other Post Baccalaureate Degree	80.2	12.9	1.6	0.6	4.1	0.6	371
Weighted n	19,661	898	275	146	594	130	21,704
Women							
No Post Baccalaureate Degree	42.9	44.2	2.9	4.0	0.0	6.0	35
Master	59.7	20.3	5.5	7.7	5.6	1.3	2,137
Doctorate	77.1	13.9	2.6	1.6	3.7	1.1	5,975
Other Post Baccalaureate Degree	74.4	15.5	2.1	5.1	2.1	0.8	182
Weighted n	6,033	1,308	280	269	342	96	8,328
Both Sexes							
No Post Baccalaureate Degree	67.9	12.8	14.3	1.7	0.0	3.3	147
Master	73.9	12.7	3.5	4.8	4.4	0.8	4,919
Doctorate	88.2	6.1	1.4	0.7	2.9	0.7	24,413
Other Post Baccalaureate Degree	78.3	13.8	1.7	2.1	3.5	0.7	553
Weighted n	25,694	2,205	555	415	937	225	30,332

Table 7

DISTRIBUTION OF FACULTY BY RANK AND GENDER IN DEPARTMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGY WITH APA APPROVED PROGRAMS FROM 1972-73 TO 1975-76

	1972-73		1973-74		1974-75		1975-76	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Inst. Lect.	30.39	69.61	40.63	59.37	32.83	67.17	36.08	63.92
Asst. Prof.	16.50	83.50	23.76	76.24	23.66	76.34	27.19	72.81
Assoc. Prof.	11.15	88.85	18.03	81.97	12.69	87.31	12.24	87.76
Full Prof.	6.50	93.50	8.73	91.27	7.51	92.49	7.76	92.24

Data generated from the Human Resources Office of the American Psychological Association. Reprinted with their permission.

Table 8

Median Salary Levels of Full-time Employed
1976 Doctorates by Gender and Subfield Grouping

Subfield Grouping	Men	Women	Total[a]
Nine to ten months			
Helping Specialities	14,550 (60)	14,442 (39)	14,504 (100)
Biopsychology	13,050 (42)	13,050 (18)	13,075 (61)
Engineering/Industrial	14,925 (17)	----- (0)	14,925 (17)
Social/Personality/Developmental	13,585 (49)	13,675 (32)	13,659 (81)
General/Systems/Methods	---- (2)	---- (1)	---- (3)
Educational	---- (13)	----- (8)	14,050 (20)
Other	(12)	---- (3)	(15)
Total	200	103	305
Eleven to twelve months			
Helping Specialites	17,858 (237)	16,758 (81)	17,630 (320)
Biopsychology	16,883 (44)	---- (10)	17,550 (54)
Engineering/Industrial	---- (13)	------ (1)	---- (14)
Social/Personality/Developmental	17,737 (35)	16,425 (23)	17,050 (58)
General/Systems/Methods	---- (55)	----- (2)	---- (7)
Educational	17,175 (19)	---- (14)	17,300 (34)
Other	17,925 (17)	---- (8)	17,925 (25)
Unknown	---- (1)	----- (0)	---- (1)
Total	381	144	527

Note.--Table excludes 76 respondents who did not report their contract period and 11 respondents who held some type of multiple employment arrangement they considered equivalent to full-time employment or who incorrectly reported their salary basis as part-time. Medians were not computed for categories with fewer than fifteen cases. The n's upon which the medians are based are reported in parentheses. The column totals report the total number of cases for each contract period.

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[a]Includes respondents whose gender is unknown.